1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

by dash line). David is the blood relative of six members of the settlement (indicated by dot-dash line). Mary, the sister of Miller's deceased wife, is related by blood to seven individuals (indicated by dotted line). Christina, David's present wife, and her sister Margaret make up the fifth blood group (indicated by a line composed of dashes interspersed with two dots). Unconnected with these five blood groups are Rose, wife of John, and Lulu, the wife of Edwin.

Now it is certainly possible that all the members of this settlement are more or less distant blood relatives. According to the best estimates, the total Carib population of the Barama country does not exceed six hundred souls. The local traditions of the Indians state that their ancestors migrated into the Barama country from a former home around the head of the Corentyne River. Less than a hundred years ago, Schomburgk found a few Akawai villages on the Barama, apparently representatives of the tribe which formerly occupied the whole region and which at that time was in the process of being eliminated.[1] Even today the Barama Caribs express a feeling of antagonism toward the Akawais as a group, perhaps a survival of the rivalry between the two groups consequent upon the Carib usurpation of the area. On the basis of this evidence it would seem improbable that the ancestors of the present Caribs were in the Barama area much before two hundred years ago. And it would be conceivable that in some distant way most of the present living individuals are related by blood. However, the isolation of the settlements and the difficulties of travel in the region have in many cases erased the memory of such connections from the minds of the people, if in fact such connections actually existed. The important fact from the sociological point of view is that in many instances, as here at Sawari, individuals are not consciously aware of actual blood relationship with certain other individuals.

Reference to the preceding section will acquaint the reader with the kinship terminology. In checking this material I found that men applied the term pamuko (male cross cousin) not only to men who were known to be their cross cousins, but also to all men of the speaker's generation who were not known to be parallel cousins, men, that is, who were not considered actual blood rela-

[1] Schomburgk, 1922-23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. I, Chap. XI.

Other
*197 resources have been introduced through economic channels. Over time,
• 167 outsiders have been attracted into the area. Men have come to seek gold, missionaries to save souls, and currently, government programs have been introduced to develop Guyanese citizens. Each of these lenses of influence has served to introduce new resources to the local population, linking the Upper Barama area with regional transportation and communication systems and regional economic markets.

Early Gold Activities

175 At the end of the Nineteenth Century, gold was discovered in the
*197 North West District. Prospectors, or porknockers as they are locally
[135] called, came to seek their fortune in the bush. Principally, these were Afro-Guyanese men recruited from peasant villages along the coast (Smith 1969). Alluvial gold has been worked on the Barama and its tributaries at least since 1896 (Bishop 1941). From 1898 to 1912, the height of the early mining activities, the total gold production from the Barama area amounted to 99,169 ounces (Bishop 1941:20). This production was not exclusively from the Barama River drainage. Access to placer deposits on the Cuyuni River was gained from the Upper Barama which is more navigable than the Cuyuni.

There is no record of the number of men involved in these gold activities. Porknockers often came as partners in groups of two or three. They would work for a number of months and then return to Georgetown. Bishop estimates that in 1937-38 there were about 500 men working gold in the entire Barama River drainage basin. However,